

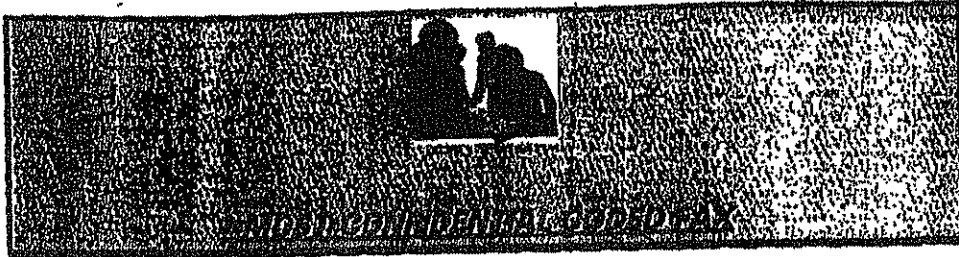
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FROM: Brian Anderson, SPDC Lagos

DATE: 11 December, 1995

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NIGERIA UPDATE

PLEASE FIND ATTACHED SOME
NOTES ON POLITICAL AND PA
ISSUES THAT I HAVE PREPARED
FOR YOUR REVIEW DURING THE
COURSE OF THIS WEEK.

BRIAN.

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POLITICAL ISSUES

- The current Government situation in Nigeria is still **VERY UNSTABLE** in my view: it could go either way, depending on the degree of confrontation from the outside world, and on the amount of information reaching Abacha. It is by no means a won battle that they will now be prepared to open up dialogue: any heavy handed outside pressure could just be enough to tip the balance in favour of the Military hard-liners, with the first result being the trial, and probable conviction, of the remaining Ogonis.
- We ourselves are unable to directly affect this, but judicious use of our capabilities to influence the thinking of opinion formers overseas is worth considering. I saw Graham Hand here yesterday and gave him these views. He seemed to think initially that things were more stable than I, but after further discussion he agreed with my assessment.
- The British government are awaiting some sign of contrition from Abacha, but are not getting it. They are not prepared to move until he takes the first step. The Nigerians are trying to get Britain to tell them what they should do next (thus making them "part of the problem") which is something that Major clearly does not want to do now. In his view it is up to the Nigerians to work this out for themselves.
- I suggested that this sort of impasse was potentially very dangerous, and that perhaps the British could consider sending out someone whom Abacha trusts (for instance General Bohm was mentioned, who also came here some time ago) and who could impart the message to Abacha that he needed to give some positive sign that he was sorry for what he had done, and that he might consider a shorter transition period towards democracy. Thereafter a more formal dialogue could occur. Graham Hand has so far been stopped from meeting Abacha since Masefield left: I firmly believe that unless someone gets to the man himself there is a significant risk that the old isolation problem may result in further inappropriate action.
- Hand mentioned to me that the EC Ambassadors were now unlikely to return to Nigeria before January, and that even then they may not if the Ogoni trials look like they are about to start. Such a protracted absence will not help to defuse the situation.
- I told Hand that I may be seeing Abacha on the 16th or 17th December, and canvassed the idea of raising the case of Agameye et al. I also mentioned that I may raise the Ogoni 19, purely on the basis that a wrong move in this regard would have serious consequences on Shell's Nigerian and international business. It is clear that Hand had the same views: he told me, by the way, that Britain had already worked out the details of a real oil export embargo, with sanctions, including the deployment of naval vessels to impose such actions.
- Hand felt that raising the issue of the jailed labour leaders could be useful, and that it could indeed be seen by the outside world as a first step towards further releases of political detainees.

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- Hand mentioned to me that the secret service had been compiling a list of overseas bank accounts of the top government members in preparation for action that may be taken against them. He seemed to feel that this was a feasible action. The recent decision to recall military attaches was somewhat unexpected, but seemed to have been based on the fact that several of the Nigerian High Commission staff in London had been active in assisting the military elite to move their money into overseas bank accounts.
- I told Hand that the NLNG Project had been committed.

RESPONSE TO ARTICLES IN PAPERS 10.12.95**"NIGERIAN OIL WORST GLOBAL WARMER" (INDEPENDENT)**

- Claim is that Shell produces half of flared gas and that Nigeria's total flare gas is equivalent 34 million tons of CO₂, and 12 million tons of methane (British homes emit 23 million tons of CO₂ and 46,000 tons of methane per annum)
- We need to check figures (for example have we not got actual measurements taken recently for the acid rain study to show the composition of flared gas (I think the methane is overstated, for example).
- Can we get some better data of the rest of the world: I wonder how much gas is flared really in the ME, Russia, etc?
- We should determine exactly how much flared gas will go into the NLNG Project over the first few years, and explain the costs of collection
- We should get SIPM to make their own assessment of the Nigerian situation as soon as possible for us to use in public statements.
- We need to explain the history of the NLNG project since we first started the idea 30 years ago: this may help to explain that we would not be in this position if we had not had excessive government interference in the past
- What sort of methane loading would come from one of the recent volcanic eruptions?
- Put together our plans for AG collection and utilisation in local markets: add to the NLNG and totalise.
- Get flaring figures for the rest of Nigerian industry and their plans for reduction

BALLAMY BEING USED BY SHELL. SAY GREEN ACTIVISTS (OBSERVER)

- Greenpeace, Friends of the Earth, Bodyshop, Jonathan Porritt all complain that David Bellamy should withdraw as Ake did

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- Survey "to investigate OIL RELATED damage in the delta's fragile swampland", no mention of the other environmental problems that we want the survey to investigate.
- They want support for a broader independent "commission of inquiry" into ecological and social problems in the delta. They are clearly looking to lay blame and extract compensation, rather than to work out the best way to manage the delta's future. We need to counter this.
- Shell, according to Porrit, was "ruthlessly exploiting" the survey and the foundation's involvement, both in newspapers and in briefings with MP's, pressure groups and the media.
- Saro-Wiwa's family are also reported to have urged Bellamy to pull out.
- Bellamy warned his critics by letter on Friday 8/12 that "it was a most inopportune moment to resign. He said all the Niger Delta people except the Ogoni has asked for the survey's work to go ahead, and he promised to "do all in my power to ensure that the survey work will be undoctored and in the public domain".
- Struan Simpson said Shell had been warned 10 days ago to take a more hands off approach. "They wanted a legal agreement which said they were jointly responsible with the committee for the survey's findings and we said "absolutely not".
- Shell now accepted that the survey must concentrate as much on social as environmental problems. "At present the delta peoples complain that Shells' community programmes don't meet their needs. Our aim is to rectify quickly villages which need oil clean-ups or community services and to get Shell to pay for them. No one else will".
- Eneke needs to advise as soon as possible on Struan Simpson's comments; and we should rebut the claims that are untrue.
- Whilst we are prepared to clean up any oil spills that are affecting people, we are not able to sort out the community services as he claims we should. That is clearly for the government.

OTHER MATTERS

Here are some (disjointed) ideas and comments on the current PA situation:

- We obviously need to work on our strategy for the coming weeks based on what we see emerging from the various parties to our problems. Perhaps some elements of the strategy can be taken from the following.

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- We have already prepared some major new information which is intended initially to go on the Shell Nigeria WWW site, in response partly to the Greenpeace comments on their Site
- I think we should concentrate on getting together some more material for use in articles (using the WWW material perhaps) that could be published both in Nigeria and overseas, covering all the main issues: perhaps they could be published in a magazine in Europe?
- Nick is working on the Environmental Film. I would add to it some images on our community work and the changes that we have recently made in policy in this regard (such as rehabilitating and running old projects that the government or the community have not bothered with).
- I believe that we need to show that we have already changed our approach to many things: flaring, community support, improving the integrity of our facilities, awareness amongst staff of the need for change in attitude to the environment and the communities: many of the idea that we developed when Ashton Jones was with us are now being implemented: I think we have a good story to tell and that we must therefore tell it.
- NDES: clearly rapid removal of Shell's perceived "controls" is in order. Onosode is on board with all of this: he needs to keep Struan Simpson in line though. What he said above is BS. We have to ensure that the GP etc pressures for an "inquiry" are fended off successfully.
- We should seriously consider putting some Group money into the Washington lobby group that Mobil et al is involved with. We cannot participate ourselves but I do believe that we should help them. I am worried that the US could turn out to be a greater threat in the end than the EU countries.
- We must try and make sure that Nigeria is fully aware of the risks it is going to run if it tries the other Ogonis (also see above).
- Facilitation of a visit to Nigeria, with Government support, for media would be useful in the near future. We are working on this but I have yet to hear of any progress.
- We are still looking at obtaining a facility for transmitting TV footage directly to Europe from Nigeria: this can be very useful: we are also looking for proper video conferencing facilities using dedicated digital lines that may be coming available soon. The former seems to be possible (legally) using Intelsat and a portable transmission system, a bit like the portable phones we have via Inmarsat. However, it is not suitable for interviews as there is a significant time delay for the transmission apparently.
- We agreed that we needed a "runner" PA man between Nigeria and London (and other locations): I have not heard anything from PA London on a suitable candidate for this. He would preferably be a professional TV journalist who wants a new career!! We really need to move now on the idea. He would probably be Nigeria based,

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bachelor basis, with regular visits planned to London etc. Given the transition period in Shell Centres in early 1996 we need to get moving now or it may fall in a crack.

- I think that there needs to be a formal appointment of a "Nigeria PA Issue Manager" who works on the matter with Group responsibility. I have already suggested that you Dick would be a perfect candidate for this (part time)! An traveling ambassadorial role in other countries is part of the remit I would see for the person carrying out this role.
- We need to try and influence the government to get moving on disbursement of the 13% derivation to the oil-producing areas. We are currently working on some ideas as to how we might be able to do this. It is certainly something I could raise with the HoS. I see this as one of the MOST IMPORTANT steps that the government needs to take.

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END